2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

423 585 bridegroom is abjured by his father-in-law 'to cut trees' for his bride, and the work is so clearly part of the economic contract that a man telling his life history usually uses the phrase, 'Then I married and made my wife a garden.' I have even heard an elderly Bemba describe a widowed sister dependent on him as his wife, [835] when giving answers for a Government census. Brother-and-sister incest is considered a horrible crime even within the classificatory degree, but the obligations to cut trees for a wife is so clearly recognized that the old man explained, 'She is my wife because I make her a garden.'

423 Hence the millet garden is the man's, although the use of the crop is given to the wife. But her rights are not absolute. They depend strictly on the continuance of the marriage, are forfeited by divorce or death, and are subject to the claims of the husband's relatives, who, since they live in another village, are constantly apprehensive lest they do not get their dues. If divorce takes 423 place through the woman's fault, the husband's kinswomen can 586 take the grain. Cases of this kind occur fairly frequently. At a village near Chinsali, a young woman refused to live with her husband because of his hot temper, and was unable to persuade her brother to give his 14-year-old daughter as a substitute, according to the old Bemba custom.[1] The injured husband retired to his own family's village to await events. After a few weeks a file of six women with empty baskets on their heads appeared from that direction. The wife's relatives stood aghast at the doors of their huts muttering, '*Yangwe!* They have come to take the grain.' They could only watch while the husband's kinswomen lifted the roof of the granary, emptied its contents, and left with their baskets full, after a brisk exchange of obscene abuse between both parties. A man's mother and sisters are his proper representatives on such an occasion and frequently intervene in this way.

On the other hand, if it is the husband who breaks up the marriage he will find it difficult to exercise his legal claims to the food remaining in the family granary. I was once present when a disreputable youth in a modern village decided to leave his wife and go off with another woman. Before doing so he placed a conditional curse on the cassava, sweet potatoes, and other remaining foodstuffs. The deserted wife retaliated by wailing in public on the village garden beds, with the support of her mother and sisters, for at least

[1] The *mpokoleshi* marriage previously described.